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E.O. 11652: GDS 3/22/86 {CHRISTOPHER, WJ}

TAGS: EAGR, EEWI, UR, AR

SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOA

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE HAVE TOLD THE ARGENTINES THAT YOU WISH TO DISCUSS THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, THE MEASURES TAKEN BY WESTERN NATIONS, AND THE OBJECTIVES AND STATUS OF THE GRAINS EMBARGO. WE HAVE ALSO STATED THAT YOU WOULD BE PREPARED TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE FULL RANGE OF U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS, INCLUDING ARGENTINA'S ROLE IN WESTERN SECURITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, TECHNICAL COOPERATION, AND BILATERAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS. WE HAVE REQUESTED THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT DEFER A DECISION ON ITS GRAINS-EXPORT POLICY PENDING THESE CONSULTATIONS.

3. THE ARGENTINE REACTION TO THE PROPOSAL FOR YOUR VISIT HAS BEEN POSITIVE. WHILE FEELINGS RUN HIGH OVER THE FACT THAT THE GOA WAS NOT CONSULTED ON THE TRADE RESTRICTIONS, THERE APPEARS TO BE A GENUINE INTEREST WITHIN THE ARGENTINE LEADERSHIP IN A BROAD REVIEW OF U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS. FORMER ARMY COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, GENERAL VIOLA, AND GENERAL GALTIERI, THE NEW ARMY COMMANDER, HAVE EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE GOA WAS NOW LOCKED INTO A PUBLIC POSTURE IN OPPOSITION TO EXPORT

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RESTRAINTS.

4. YOU WILL BE EXPECTED TO RAISE THE SUBJECT OF OUR GRAINS RESTRICTIONS. THE ARGENTINES HAVE NOT YET RESUMED THE ISSUANCE OF EXPORT LICENSES, BUT WILL DO SO SOON. THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS TOLD OUR AMBASSADOR THAT THE GOA WILL INSTRUCT ITS GRAIN EXPORTERS TO SELL ONLY AT HISTORIC LEVELS OF EXPORTS TO THE SOVIET UNION AND NOT TO SUBSTITUTE ARGENTINE GRAIN FOR THE AMOUNTS WHICH WERE WITHHELD BY THE U.S. THE FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT U.S. TRADING COMPANIES WOULD PURCHASE THE GRAIN WITHHELD BY ARGENTINA.

5. YOU WILL WISH TO PROBE THESE ARGENTINE STATEMENTS TO FORM A VIEW OF HOW EFFECTIVE THEIR APPROACH IS LIKELY TO BE, AND URGE THAT ARGENTINA ADOPT STRONGER CONTROLS. SINCE THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY STATED THAT IT WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH THE MARKET, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO PURSUADE IT TO ADOPT EFFECTIVE DESTINATION CONTROLS.

6. THE ARGENTINES, FOR THEIR PART, ARE EXPECTED TO RAISE THE FOLLOWING ISSUES:

A. INCREASED CONSULTATIONS. THE ARGENTINE LEADERSHIP SEES ARGENTINA AS PART OF THE WEST. THEY ARE AWARE OF THE EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR NATO ALLIES AND JAPAN IN ADVANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. THERE HAVE BEEN VARIOUS ARGENTINE PROPOSALS FOR INCREASED HIGH-LEVEL VISITS {SUCH AS A VISIT BY THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS} TO GIVE IMPETUS TO INCREASED DIALOGUE.

WE WOULD PROPOSE THAT YOU STRESS OUR DESIRE FOR INCREASED CONSULTATIONS, BUT WITHOUT SPECIFICALLY COMMITTING US TO INCREASED HIGH-LEVEL VISITS. YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT, LOOKING BEYOND CURRENT DIFFICULTIES, WE SEE ARGENTINA AS AN IMPORTANT AND LEADING MEMBER OF THE WESTERN SYSTEM.

B. HUMAN RIGHTS. THE ARGENTINE LEADERS ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE FORTHCOMING U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON ARGENTINA, DUE IN THE CONGRESS JANUARY 31, AS WELL AS THE 400-PAGE REPORT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION {IAHRC}, WHICH THE GOA IS NOW REVIEWING;

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AND OVER POSSIBLE PUBLIC CENSURES BY THE FORTHCOMING SESSION OF THE UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (UNCHR). ARGENTINE LEADERS BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. CITIZEN MEMBER ON THE IAHRC HAS PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN TOUGHENING THE REPORT, AND THAT THE REPORT WHEN PUBLISHED WILL BE A VEHICLE FOR POLITICAL MOVES WITHIN U.N. FORA AGAINST ARGENTINA. HOWEVER, THE IAHRC REPORT IS UNLIKELY TO BE MADE PUBLIC BEFORE THE CLOSE OF THE FEBRUARY-MARCH UNHRC SESSION. GENERAL VIOLA HAS EXPRESSED SERIOUS CONCERN TO OUR AMBASSADOR OVER THE U.S. REPORT.

YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR OBJECTIVE IS NOT ONE OF PUBLIC CENSURE, BUT CONTINUED PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. SPECIFIC ARGENTINE COMMITMENTS OF PROGRESS WOULD BE HELPFUL. YOU SHOULD ALSO ASSURE THE GOA THAT THE U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT IS A FACTUAL DOCUMENT REQUIRED BY LAW FOR ALL COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, AND THAT ITS PURPOSE IS TO ACCURATELY DESCRIBE CONDITIONS AND NOT TO PRAISE OR CONDEMN GOVERNMENTS. YOU SHOULD ALSO STRESS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT SOUGHT TO INFLUENCE THE WORK OF THE IAHRC, WHOSE INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY WE RESPECT. WE ARE ALSO COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING THE INTEGRITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS AND PROCEDURES, WHERE OUR GOAL IS EFFECTIVE ACTION AND NOT PUBLIC CENSURE.

C. NON-PROLIFERATION. THE ARGENTINE LEADERS, ESPECIALLY THE NUCLEAR COMMUNITY, HAVE BEEN CONCERNED OVER RECENT U.S. EFFORTS TO PERSUADE SWITZERLAND AND THE FRG TO TOUGHEN THEIR SAFEGUARDS REQUIREMENTS FOR THE SALE OF NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT. (THIS IS A SENSITIVE AREA, AND YOU SHOULD, IF POSSIBLE, AVOID BEING DRAWN INTO THE ISSUE.) ALSO, WE AND THE ARGENTINES HAVE NOT YET REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE ASSURANCES REQUIRED UNDER U.S. LAW TO ENABLE US TO PROVIDE HIGHLY ENRICHED NUCLEAR FUEL FOR ARGENTINA'S RESEARCH REACTORS.

YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT OUR CONCERN HAS BEEN WITH THE SAFEGUARDS, NOT THE SALE OF NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT; AND THAT WE REMAIN CONCERNED THAT SOME PARTS OF ARGENTINA'S NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE MIGHT BE WITHOUT SAFEGUARDS AT SOME FUTURE TIME. YOU SHOULD STRESS OUR DESIRE TO CONTINUE COOPERATION, TO THE EXTENT THE GOA DESIRES AND OUR LAW PERMITS. YOU SHOULD ALSO STRESS THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO SUPPLY THE NUCLEAR FUEL FOR ARGENTINA'S RESEARCH REACTORS SUBJECT TO THE SAFEGUARDS CONDITIONS REQUIRED BY U.S. LAW AND POLICY.

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B. U.S.-ARGENTINE MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS. ONCE CLOSE SUPPLY AND TRAINING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE U.S. MILITARY SERVICES AND THEIR ARGENTINE COUNTERPARTS HAVE VIRTUALLY ENDED AS A RESULT OF THE ENACTMENT OF THE HUMPHREY-KENNEDY AMENDMENT TO THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT PROHIBITING FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES (INCLUDING IMET) TO ARGENTINA. WITHOUT REPEAL OF THE LEGISLATION, NOT LIKELY IN THE SHORT RUN, THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF REESTABLISHING A SUPPLY AND TRAINING RELATIONSHIP. HOWEVER, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ENHANCE PREVIOUSLY EXISTING TIES THROUGH VISITS, INCREASED PERSONNEL EXCHANGES, AND CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE SERVICES. YY

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